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Presented is an educational program for disadvantaged youth which will insure meaningful growth, give a sense of achievement and attainment, help children accept and face their limitations and develop their strengths, and instill healthy attitudes toward school and society.

Curriculum changes, rather than administrative arrangements, are advocated. Considerations for curriculum planners should be analyses of society, the nature of the learners, and the nature of knowledge in selecting and organizing educational experiences. Content and methodology are closely related. The preschool enrichment curriculum is an example of instructional content that overcomes deficiencies in experience and knowledge. Readiness programs focus on discrimination-training, motor-coordination, and cognitive training which take the child's developmental level into account.

Recommendations are made for content in specific skill and subject areas. Reading improvement programs should be designed for urban children by dealing with settings, vocabulary, and experiences of city dwellers. Literature from different racial, ethnic, and national groups could be introduced to students so that the richness of different cultures can be appreciated. Literature can help children bring their feelings about themselves into perspective. Writing, field trips, dramatic play, role playing, and art work can provide the content for experience-centered activities. Mathematics programs should provide for different rates of progress rather than for different objectives. Science programs can be supplemented by materials to help the child understand each unit's vocabulary. The subject matter of social studies, intergroup relations, and citizenship education can be derived from the urban world. There is need for reexamination of vocational education programs, for current methods and equipment are often obsolete, teachers are unfamiliar with new techniques and skills, and training is not geared to manpower needs.

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Instructional Content for Depressed Urban Centers: Problems and Approaches

by

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Not too long ago, when educators were discussing enrichment programs for intellectually gifted children, someone inevitably observed that "a rich curriculum was what we wanted for all children." Indeed, in generalizing about "Helping Each Child Realize His Maximum Potential," educational purposes are the same but their uniform attainment, especially through identical programs, is highly unlikely. In studying groups identified as "intellectually gifted," we soon recognized the dangers of stereotyping children, for the range of individual differences was very broad. Yet, there were similarities that enabled us to focus on the unique qualities and problems of gifted children and to develop programs appropriate for them. There are lessons to be learned from curriculum development efforts for the gifted that are applicable to planning for the educationally disadvantaged. Perhaps the most important lesson is to attend to the curriculum-- content, methods, resources, learning environment-- and not to expect that administrative arrangements per se will bring about desired instructional changes.

A recent survey may illustrate this point. When the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement asked its members to submit "promising practices" for disadvantaged pupils, the

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A paper prepared for presentation at the Post-Doctoral Seminar of the College of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210, October 23, 1964.

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descriptions fell into nine categories; in-service education and recruitment, reading, summer programs, community-school aspects, guidance activities, early admissions programs, team teaching programs, special placement classes, and job-retraining programs.[1] These practices imply that adaptations, modificiations, and innovations in curriculum are to be made but seldom are they specified. The personnel to be added; plans for more field trips, assembly programs, and parent involvement; organizational arrangements; and ways of wroking with non-school agencies are detailed. Even as pre-school programs spread, for example, little attention is being given to the instructional provisions appropriate for disadvantaged three-to-five year olds.

The general pattern of programs emerging for the disadvantaged can be seen in one of the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 where it is suggested that a balanced program of educational assistance might include, but need not be limited to, the following:

(1) Remedial programs that emphasize the correction of deficiencies in reading, grammar, spelling or mathematics;
(2) Field trips that expose children to experiences that are not part of their everyday lives;
(3) Creation of, and assistance to preschool, day care, or nursery centers for 3- to 5- year olds. This will provide an opportunity for a head start by cancelling out deficiencies associated with poverty that are instrumental in school failure;
(4) Tutoring programs utilizing specially trained individuals, senior high school students, and adults with basic academic skills to tutor students who are in need of educational assistance. Volunteers are a substantial resource in such programs;
(5) Preservice teacher training involving specialized work with personnel about to enter the teaching profession to provide an understanding of the growth and development problems of children from low-income backgrounds;
(6) Inservice training of teachers designed to make their efforts more effective for the child from low-income backgrounds; and
(7) Development of remedial material designed to be of assistance to children from low-income backgrounds. Much of the specialized material presently available is geared to children from middle-income and middle-class backgrounds.[2]

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[1] A paper prepared for presentation at the Post-Doctoral Seminar of the College of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210, October 23, 1964.

Each of these programs implies that language development and communication skills are central and basic in the educational growth of the child. The fact that the school program has a high verbal content is not an "artifact of the middle-class culture" but rather a recognition that in a modern technical society language and communication are essential for individual and societal survival and development. The importance of language for the cognitive and conceptual gowth of the child cannot be minimized. But, unless adequate attention is given to instructional content, we shall be erecting educational facades which will not serve the ends of overcoming "the complex problems of educational deprivation."

The Panel on Educational Research and Development's recent report states flatly that "by all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures."[3] In support of its charge, the panel cited the severe academic retardation which steadily worsens as children grow older; the dropout rate which exceeds 50 percent, fewer than five percent going to some form of higher education; and a general picture of adolescents leaving school "ill-prepared to lead a satisfying, useful life or to participate successfully in the community." The Panel expressed its belief that while additional funds for more classrooms and improved teacher-pupil ratios would certainly help, more important are programs of curriculum development and teacher education.

What are the curriculum modifications and instructional adaptations which need to be made for children and youth in depressed areas? Traditionally, the curriculum planner has considered analyses of society, the nature of the learners, and the nature of knowledge in selecting and organizing educational experiences. These are the sources for study and for understanding of the full meaning of compensatory and appropriate education.

Knowing the culture from which the disadvantaged child comes and being aware of the demands and the promise of a changing society, we do a disservice to the disadvantaged to limit educational goals to the currently practical and utilitarian. To do so will, in the long run, further disadvantage them. Curriculum content must take into account emerging conditions of life and work toward which our national and humanitarian (as well as middle-class) goals are aimed. The basic skills, insights, and understandings which constitute a general and common education (especially at the elementary level) are as essential for the disadvantaged child as for the middle-class youngster. They are indeed "cultural imperatives."

How one thinks about the parameters of curriculum content determines the ways in which instructional modifications and adaptations will be made for the disadvantaged. Content may be narrowly conceived in terms of factual information or it can be thought of more inclusively as dealing with understandings, processes, concepts, attitudes, norms, values, and feelings. Content may consider such specifics as whether more Negro history should be included in a text or an examination of the meaning of civil rights demonstrations for a particular neighborhood. One may think of content as the acquisition of arithmetic facts or the altering of one's self-image and view of self as learner. Kvaraceus talks of two curricula-- an overt one made up of all the teacher-planned activities in which the pupils are engaged and a covert or subliminal one found in the culture and subcultures of the school which set behavioral norms.[4] Certainly, the socialization and acculturation functions of the school are of significance to the curriculum planner and his conception of content.

Obviously, the line of demarcation between content and teaching methodology and resources becomes increasingly blurred for they are interrelated. Teaching strategies may represent methodology but they cannot

be divorced from content. Classroom climate can be influential in learning. Kvaraceus points out that most classrooms play up the cognitive aspects of life experience and the learning process but try to ignore or play down the emotional aspects: "We understress the emotional life of the Negro pupil until his difficulties are so pronounced that this dimension can no longer be denied." For some learnings, the emotional content may have more impact than the cognitive aspects. Or, more significantly, the emotional content may be the vehicle for cognitive learnings.

An anecdote from a Queens College BRIDGE Project science teacher's experience illustrates this point:

> Today I decided to begin my unit on the Circulatory System. I began by asking if anyone knew anything about the blood and how it flows through the body. Harold, a transfer, said he knew that blood flowed to all parts of the body. Another boy said that the heart pumps blood, and another said it goes through blue tubes. Before I had a chance to develop the concept of circulation, Harold asked, 'Miss M., what kind of guy is real white, whiter than you? He don't have any blood, right?' I knew he meant an albino. I explained that this type of person was an albino but that he had the same kind of blood that we have, and what he is missing is the chemical that makes skin light or dark, a pigment.
>
> By this time the entire class was completely transfixed upon me and was listening intently to what I was saying. I continued. 'Didn't you ever wonder why you are dark and I am light? Why one Negro is much darker than the next? Or why Indians were Redskins, or some Italians have darker skins than Irish people with freckles?' No one said anything ...The silence was deadening. I explained that a chemical called pigment determines how light or dark we will be, and that it is passed from one generation to the next along with eye color, hair color and facial contour. I told how this chemical clumps together or scatters, determining whether we are dark or light. Victoria shook the silence with 'That ain't true. My mother told us that the reason we is black is that Adam and Eve had two sons, Cain and Abel - Cain was black and Abel white. Because Cain kill Abel, all the black folks like us are bad, and the darker we are, the badder we are.' The other kids listened and a few agreed. Several withdrew into their books and Samuel said, 'Let's get on with the lesson.' Arthur and William said it wasn't true - 'If that's so, how come so many Negroes do good in the world - they play music and work at the U.N.' Another boy said, "Some don't do so good; they drink wine all the time. That's how a lot of us will wind up.' Henrietta said, 'What about Teen Band Stand and that ugly old white man, Dick Clark? He always turn the cameras off the colored kids when they dance. How about that?' Edward who just moved up North

said it wasn't true. He said, 'Whites and Blacks can't be equal and that's the way it is. My daddy say you gotta live with it that way.' William said rather emotionally, 'We don't get the same jobs,' and Arnie said 'because we are dumber than most whites.' All this time I was not in the conversation. Juanita said, 'That's why Miss M. say we should learn a lot so we can get chances our folks didn't have.' The boys wanted the girls to keep quiet.'

In this instance, the content which emerges deals more with the anxieties and emotions of the students than with scientific information. The lesson was experience-centered, in the best sense of that term. It probably was not in the teacher's plan book but represented a sensing by her of the genuine concerns of the class. One might observe that this teacher "began where her students were"-- a time-honored but often unpracticed educational dictum, which, in the case of the disadvantaged, is especially crucial. Beginning there has never implied staying there but, instead, should be the point from which the teacher educates or leads out. Unfortunately, the anecdote ends without indicating how the teacher helped these pupils conceptualize this intensive experience.

<u>There is instructional content which is basically compensatory in the sense of overcoming experiential and cognitive deficits.</u> The pre-school enrichment curriculum is an example of specific exercises and activities designed to help the disadvantaged child achieve in the basic academic areas which constitute the early childhood program of the elementary school. As Deutsch describes the work of the Institute for Developmental Studies,

> We have emphasized the role of specific social attributes and experiences in the development of language and verbal behavior, of concept formation and organization, of visual and auditory discrimination, of general environmental orientation, and of self-concepts and motivation; and of all this to school performance. ...A compensatory program for children, starting at three or four years of age, might provide the maximum opportunity for prevention of future disabilities and for remediation of current skill deficiencies. In addition, such a program might serve to minimize the effect of discontinuity between home and school environments, thereby enhancing the child's functional adjustment to school requirements.[8]

What is required for selection of such curriculum content is an understanding of the particular patterning of intellectual and cognitive capabilities of specific children. The particular kinds of strategies used, requiring adaptations of materials and activities, represent instructional content in that the aim is to teach directly certain skills, attitudes, and behaviors to children whose experiences have not provided such growth earlier. The content aims at providing what Hunt calls the "proper match" between the child's developmental level and the materials and activities provided. He sees the pre-school program providing disadvantaged children with an opportunity to encounter a wide variety of objects and circumstances and to imitate various models of action and motor language.[7] It is these "opportunities" which constitute the content of the enrichment curriculum, supplementing other aspects of what is viewed as a "good middle-class nursery school."

In mathematics as well, Leiderman cites research data to support the notion that the early deprivation in the child's development will result in lessened ability to abstract and that limited verbal development is related to difficulty in learning mathematics. It is the problem of cumulative deficit and cumulative failure with which the school must deal;

> If the child has not learned the necessary operations and symbolic cues during the course of his pre-school development, through a variety of stimulation leading to both finer discriminations of relationships between things and broadening of categorizations, then a school program predicated on this basic development will not be successful. If the early rudiments for concept formation or abstract reasoning are lacking, then these tasks... are not only inherently more difficult, but are more difficult because the discrepancy between the child's ability and environmental expectancies is continually increasing.[8]

It is for this reason that Leiderman suggests that extensive drill, presenting materials at a slower rate or in simpler language, and similar techniques are insufficient and that greater possibilities exist in matching the learning tasks with the child's abilities as determined by his readiness

and developmental stage.

The revival of interest in the work of Maria Montessori is due in part to the fact that her program was developed originally in the Rome slums and because some of her "method" parallels proposals of today. Hunt points to three aspects of Montessori's work that are especially interesting: (a) she based her teaching methods on the spontaneous interest of children in learning, stressing the training of "informational processes"; (b) she freed each child to examine and to work with whatever interested him in his environment, making no effort at uniform activities among the children; and (c) she grouped children ages three to six so that the younger children were provided with a wide variety of models for imitation and the older ones helped teach the younger ones. The content is found in the carefully structured environment wherein the child pursues his spontaneous interests and is intrinsically motivated.[9]

Many of the so-called "readiness programs" are now focusing on discrimination-training, motor-coordination, and cognitive training with the content taking the child's developmental level into account through early and continuing diagnosis. In fact, the testing and assessment procedures represent a means of teaching. The danger, as always, is limiting the scope of such content to a single aspect of compensatory experience through inadequate attention to the needs and nature of each specific group of learners.

Content in specific skill and subject areas. The centrality of language and communication for scholastic performance has quite naturally resulted in considerable empahsis on "reading improvement programs." These are a proliferation of programs-- homemade and commercially published-- varying in content and organization as well as the specific activities involved-- all dealing generally with teaching children basic reading skills.

These reading programs take many forms, have varied purposes, and use different content. Some are intended for reading readiness only; others for developing basic reading skills. Some are developmental; others are designed for remediation. The content varies as one would expect. Some are programmed for self-instruction. They have such titles as: Initial Teaching Alphabet, City Schools Reading Program (Detroit's Jimmy Series), Progressive Choice Reading Method, Structural Reading Series, Words in Color Readers, Frostig Program for the Development of Visual Perception, Speech-to-Print Phonics, Read Along with Me, Self-Concept Reader, and Chandler Language-Experience Readers. This listing is, of course, incomplete but includes programs which are currently being used in some urban schools. (Used is underscored, for far better evaluation and experimentation are needed.)

The City Schools Reading Program and the Chandler Language-Experience Readers (as well as the Bank Street-Macmillan Urban Readers which have not made their public appearance) are specifically designed for the urban child. In the first three books of the series from Detroit, the setting is the city and the central characters are five members of a Negro family and a white playmate. The children supposedly "look, dress and act like children who live in big cities," the experiences they have are "urban, not suburban," and they are "characters with whom children who live in varied neighborhoods can identify." The writers deliberately avoided the sordid and unpleasant side of city life. The Chandler series combines photographs of San Francisco children (multi-racial and ethnic) engaged in various city and school activities with a text derived from "miles of tape" recordings of the spontaneous speech of these children. The aim of the series is "to motivate children to learn to read by presenting stories which represent experiences that they have had or experiences

that can be arranged for them by their teachers." The Bank Street approach will be based on the multi-cultural life of the city.

That the typical pre-primar is oriented toward the middle-class suburbia where "life in general is fun, filled almost exclusively with friendly, smiling people, including gentle and understanding parents, doting grandparents, generous and cooperative neighbors, even warm-hearted strangers,"[10] has been pretty well established. That the language patterns and oral vocabulary of the disadvantaged children differs substantially (from 20 to 50 percent) from the standard primary-grade word lists is a finding supported by empirical research. What the consequences are on the child is still more speculated on than really known. Urban teachers call for materials with stories, vocabulary, interest level, illustrations, and images with which the disadvantaged child can identify or at least can understand. But, much remains to be done in the way of study and research to learn how the richness of city life and the expressiveness of the disadvantaged child can be captured in the content of reading materials.

Aside from such materials, La Brant has suggested that disadvantaged children are limited by a lack of familiarity with stories which form a common culture and are basic to understanding of more mature literature. She includes such pieces as Mother Goose rhymes, Alice in Wonderland, Anderson's Tales, and similar classics and points out that references to characters and events in these stories appear repeatedly in both current and historical English prose. Content for the disadvantaged may involve introducing them to the world of the classics whose literary merit and staying power have crossed many cultures and time. La Brant suggests that two goals for the disadvantaged are to help them realize that reading is "a normal and agreeable part of both school and home life" and to acquaint them with the rich literary heritage of early childhood.[11] There is also an

extensive literature from various racial, ethnic, and national groups which might be introduced to all students.

The content of reading (and related communication media) can take the reader beyond his immediate world. But, it can do even more, especially for older children and youth. Wilhelms reminds us that

> literature is the great repository of insights into the human heart and mind.... we can select-- and help students select-- so that our literature courses go straight to the heart of children and adolescents, with their fears and frustrations, their self-doubts, their hopes and their aspirations. We can help youngsters to bring their feelings about themselves into perspective.[12]

There is a wealth of literature which, properly selected, provides relevant content for children and youth at all stages of development and serves other purposes than simply enabling the student to sound out words. The problem, as Charles Spiegler puts it, is "to give him a book that hits him where he lives!"[13]

The Turner-Livingston Readers attempt to make reading pleasurable, or at least some kind of emotional experience, by presenting stories about the adolescent and his pressing worries. It strives to help the adolescent read more effectively and to think about himself and the world about him. The series aims to give the skeptical, cynical youth with whom Turner worked a belief that they will be accepted into the mainstream of American life with all the rights and privileges of such citizens. He points out that this is the reason why

> shot through the texts there is hope. Not pie-in-the-sky hope. But realistic hope. The books are chock-full of it. ...implicit in the text are ideas like these: you can learn to read, you can get a part-time job, you can ride a taxi, you will be able to lead a good and better life, you can do something, you can do something to get yourself out of dangerous entanglements, you can travel to other parts of the country and the world, and so on.[14]

Turner's stories do not follow the "life is sweet and happy" motif. He includes such complicated topics as steady dating, alcohol, narcotics, gang relations, and delinquency. He does so, however, not to shock teachers

("...all I did was to turn factual information in approved texts into fiction") but to enable staff and students to engage in frank and honest examinations of these problems under conditions where youth might be able to get some adult help.

Turner has since produced a series of dialogues under the title, When People Talk.[15] The first two booklets deal with such real problems as birth, death, being unemployed, booking an airline reservation and similar concerns. They aim at developing reading skills, speech and general language usage. Besides providing interesting, absorbing reading materials, they serve to stimulate meaningful classroom discussions. The people in the dialogue episodes are of various ages, walks of life, faiths, colors, and in different kinds of dilemmas. There is no attempt to control vocabulary because the familiar contexts provide clues to word recognition. Here is content which is multi-purposed for it enables probing of human relationships under real-life circumstances with which the student can identify.

The disadvantaged child is not devoid of all vocabulary nor is he completely experience-deprived. In fact, he lives in a city surrounded by a life that includes many learning stimuli. Some school programs use field trips in order to take the child out of his immediate environment and to introduce him to the non-ghetto world. Writing, dramatic play, role playing, art work-- all may be used to provide the content for experience-centered activities. Television, radio, and communication media of many kinds surround the inner city child. His world has been characterized as a continuous buzzing and staccato of life: the problem is to help him filter out and distill some meanings and insights from these surroundings.

Central as language is to all scholastic achievement and cognitive

development, there are other subject areas which contribute to growth as well. In each of the basic subject areas, curriculum efforts must center on distilling the essential concepts, skills, and understandings and organizing these for instruction and learning for pupils whose motivation and orientation are not school-centered. Making the content simpler-- watering it down-- has not contributed to upgrading achievement nor has it resulted in any greater involvement in school learning. Bruner has hypothesized that "the foundations of any subject may be taught to anybody at any age in some form." Is Bruner's speculation-- supposedly one of the guiding principles for many of the curriculum reform groups-- applicable to the group of students who constitute the disadvantaged child? Are there insights to be gained from the notion of "foundations of any subject" which can be applied to program development for these students? Is there a mathematical or a science content which is different and particularly appropriate for the child in a depressed area school? Most new curricula have been developed for average and above-average students and generally tested in suburban schools. Their applicability to the inner city child is uncertain, partly for lack of testing.

The School Mathematics Study Group has sponsored a conference to grapple with the problem of large numbers of students who were not doing well in mathematics, including a considerable number of children who were living in slum areas. A number of basic issues, including whether or not one should begin with existing SMSG materials and modify these, whether entirely new programs had to be written, were discussed. There seemed to be some consensus that at the elementary school level the mathematical understandings, insights, processes and skills to be achieved were not different for any one group; the program should provide for differential rates of progress rather than differentiated mathematical objectives.

Some participant recommended the content be the same for all students and that the depth of treatment be adjusted to the student's abilities; others argued that a basic curriculum be developed, with students of higher ability being given additional content; still others suggested a differentiated curriculum for all. At the secondary level, there seemed to be more agreement that differentiated programs were called for in terms of the specific mathematical objectives. How realistic is this notion of appropriate mathematical content will have to be subjected to better inquiry than the current studies.

Beilin and Gotkin's suggestion for mathematics educators is that they subject the curriculum to a behavioral and cognitive analysis--specifying what is to be taught and what behaviors and cognitive processes the learner is assumed to have in order to cope with the instructional sequences." Beyond this, they propose limiting the size of instructional units, providing for a variety of ways of representing a concept, and providing for different levels of difficulty within a conceptual scheme.[16]

In his Science Curriculum Improvement Study, Karplus has argued that a principle objective is the development of "scientific literacy by which students are enabled to interpret scientific information as though they had obtained it themselves."[17] For him, the starting point of the scientific endeavor is an observation interpreted in the light of the scientific point of view or the synthesis of past experience. Karplus places great stress on nurturing in each child a strong feeling of the integrity of his own observations. This stress on sharpening individual observations of environmental phenomena, reinforcing the child's growing awareness of objects and their properties, and checking his own animistic interpretations may well double as a learning-how-to-learn skill for the disadvantaged child--in addition to opening a door to science. Comparing

and sorting collections of objects according to particular properties such as shape, size, color and composition; and attaching verbal labels may lead to the development of the concept of classes and, eventually, to more significant abstractions. Basic physical ideas such as interaction, equilibrium, reversibility and irreversibility, relativity and motion are probably more significant for the disadvantaged than is the pseudo-science of many present programs. To what extent basic concepts and abstracts can be taught in an intuitive fashion au Bruner-- especially if one were to begin early enough to nurture and develop concept formation-- is not clear. Certainly, too often we have begun with the practical, the immediate and the concrete and remained there without extending the learner's ability to generalize and abstract.

At Mobilization for Youth, the basic science curriculum for the intermediate grades has been supplemented by materials aimed at helping children understand the vocabulary used in each unit. Similarly, the Center for Programmed Instruction developed programmed materials for seventh and eighth graders aimed at teaching the vocabulary of the arithmetic units at that level. Each frame requires reading, each response requires comprehension, and each item represents a miniature reading exercise in reading comprehension. In passing through these frames or reading exercises, the student adds to his range of information, his mathematics vocabulary and his confidence in reading.

Relating basic reading skills to subject content is an attempt to fill a valuable remedial function. The Abrahamwitz World History and American History Study Lessons, for instance, aim at teaching the normal subject matter while improving the student's reading ability-- "as he gains in reading and comprehension power, he is simultaneously gaining in knowledge of subject matter." (Whether this "normal subject matter" is appro-

priate for this or the normal-ability group is another issue.)

Suchman's inquiry training, aimed at developing skills for autonomous discovery and Torrence's activities designed to nurture creative and divergent thinking abilities have not been tested extensively with disadvanteged children. We know that one of the strengths of many inner city children is their ability to cope with the world about them, to create and use materials in novel fashion, to invent games and generally "survive" in a difficult and frequently dangerous world. There may be considerably more imagination and problem-solving ability in the disadvantaged group than the school has capitalized upon. A re-reading of Davis's 1948 Inglis Lecture in the context of present-day research and study of the structure of the intellect can yield a different interpretation and a challenge to the schools. If he had simply questioned the importance of reading as a middle-class value, one might argue with him today. But, says Davis: "Many types of invention, of creativeness, of analytic organization, indeed of symbolic manipulation, are certainly more rare and more valuable to mankind than his skill in standard English, or standard French, or standard German."[28] Therefore, he urged that the school become a place where children learn to analyze facts, to reason from them, to develop insight and inventiveness. Davis' criticisms can be interpreted to mean that reading has boiled down to learning to decode words, without equipping the child to recognize, to define, and to analyze problems. We do not stress the drawing of inferences and the process of reasoning sufficiently.

There is an instructional content which derives from the urban world of today with its vast cultural resources as well as its complex problems. This is sometimes viewed as the subject matter of social studies, intergroup relations, citizenship education or some variation thereof. For example. Ausubel has documented the "significant developmental differences

in self-esteem, in aspirations for achievement, in personality adjustment, and in character structure" of segregated Negro children. Katz has summarized the research on the effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of Negro children. Together, these two sides of the problem point to a critical aspect of education for the schools which cannot be ignored even though empirical data are lacking which would provide sound guide lines for planning.

The current civil rights struggle, for example, is viewed by some analysts as basically a problem of power redistribution, with some groups seeking to secure power and others, to maintain and withhold it. Should the question of political, economic and social power redistribution be part of the legitimate content of social sciences study of, let us say, secondary school youth? In what ways should the complex, often controversial issues and problems of urban living serve as content for social learnings? These questions do not pose simple reexamination of the handling of controversial issues in the classroom as much as a totally new view of the realities of urban socio-political life as they impinge on school curriculum. Perhaps we should be concerned with meaningful citizenship participation, not in terms of boycotts and demonstrations, but rather in helping alienated and disadvantaged children and youth understand the world about them and how they become part of the mainstream of social living.

While one can have no illusions about the complexity of selecting and handling content dealing with the power relationships in communities, to ignore completely the stresses and strains that are part of America's large cities and metropolitan areas generally is to perpetuate the feeling amongst students that school is divorced from reality. As Kravaceus has observed rather strongly

Since the high school is careful to skirt and detour around real-life problems and controversial issues involving race relations, alcoholism, materialism, religion, politics, collectivism, consumer competency, marriage, and family life, it involves the learner in a type of artificially contrived busy work and shadow boxing that either lulls the adolescent into a stupor or drives him in his resentment out of school to overt agression. In protecting youth from real-life problems, the school enters into a tragic conspiracy of irresponsible retreat from reality. The perversion of the high school curriculum to neutral and petty purposes emasculates the school program and disintegrates the ego.[19]

The school must provide richer opportunities to practice improved modes of behavior as part of the learning experience. What is needed is a reappraisal of the value of real-life experiences in problem-solving and decision-making in the social, political and economic life of the school and community. The "laboratory experiences" approach of the Citizenship Education Project may have real meaning here. To assert this is not to imply that this should be the totality of the learning for students-- disadvantaged or not-- but rather that there is a place for dealing with them in the formal curriculum. Since the problems are complex and full of conflict, they will not be resolved by a classroom discussion or a unit. But, a start could be made to examine them and indicate to the student that the school knows and cares. While the classroom may represent a psychological haven for many children, it need not completely shut out the world around it.

A three-year Wilmington (Delaware) project focused directly on the aspect of human relations in an effort to help children and their families comprehend and deal more effectively with changing neighborhoods: transiency, desegregation, flight to the suburbs, and changing economic forces. The focus of curriculum building was on developing human relations sensitivity, skills, insights, and information. Units relating school instruction to life needs and experience were built for specific classes. Such education is viewed as being at the center of the school's program.

It seeks to help children develop for themselves and apply in their daily living a system of ethics based on respect for themselves and a humane regard for other people-- in short, on the concept of brotherhood of man. It seeks further to build a sense of responsibility to match their rights-- as members of a family, as neighbors, and as participating citizens of the community, state and nation.

Beyond this, there is an intangible content which cannot be ignored, because it is significant in ego-development, in motivation, in self-image. This is what is learned from the classroom climate and the teacher as an individual. How to concoct a climate in which teachers genuinely believe in the potential ability of disadvantaged children, are committed to its nurture, and convey this respect through their relationships with pupils and parents is part and parcel of the curriculum problem. Those writers who observed that the child "learns what he lives" were not off-target. What the teacher expects or does not expect and how the disadvantaged student perceives these expectations can influence significantly the child's aspiration level and involvement in the educational process.

The concepts presently guiding vocational education need drastic reexamination. Questions have been raised about the general appropriateness of vocational training in secondary schools. The data suggest that our present vocational education programs actually reach very few of those entering the labor force. The training offered is not geared to manpower needs. The methods and equipment are often obsolete. There is a shortage of teachers familiar with new materials, production techniques and skill requirements. As the recent President's Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education indicated, the worker of tomorrow will need a sound general education which will give him the knowledge, the skill and flexibility he needs to learn new techniques and adapt himself to new jobs. He will need even more mathematics and science than he has now.

Similarly, the insights emerging from the Career Pattern Study raise questions about present school practices and provide leads for program

modification. Super and Overstreet state flatly that their data "suggest that a substantial number of boys are not yet ready, in the ninth grade, to decide on direction of endeavor, or, specifically, on a future occupation." They see this stage not as one of "making and implementing a vocational choice, but rather of developing planfulness, of preparing to make a series of educational and occupational decisions" and suggest that the educational program ready the pupil for making these decisions.[81]

Work-orientation experiences can start in the seventh grade and act, to some extent, as the framework for instruction in general education, as well. Students can be introduced to the world of work, investigating how people earn a living, how different kinds of work intermesh in community life, how personal satisfactions come from doing a job well. Pupils can be taught how to prepare for the job, how to fill out application forms, how to behave during job interviews. The can learn about the avenues and opportunities for special training programs and apprenticeships. They can be taught to face and to cope with discriminatory tactics, drawing upon the legal and quasi-legal sources for help in these areas.

The lack of relationship between the school experience and the job experience represents one of the basic weaknesses in most vocational educational programs. The content of the present courses could be modified so as to tighten the correlation between work experience and the classroom. Work experience programs might be supplemented by instruction in basic communication skills, in informed citizenship, and in human relations. The work-study program might well provide for pre-apprenticeship training and aim at helping each child achieve at an optimum level while looking for realistic, attractive goals. Youngsters could be taken frequently to industries and businesses to observe the work setting, converse with working people, understand the important role of trade unions, organizations and

other associations, and gain a realistic feel for the world of work.

Work-study programs have been proposed as an antidote to dropping out or, since work experience is not a panacea, for certain dropout problems. If begun early enough, these programs could give youth a chance to grow up satisfactorily through work. Havighurst argues that too many such programs begin tardily at age 16, when the pupil is about to drop out of school; success would be more probable if the program were to begin earlier. He proposes also a parallel program aimed at the "sociological sisters" of alienated boys since teen-age girls who fail and drop out of school are prone to marry early.[22]

It has been argued that there may be something called "work readiness." If so, we must find ways of equipping youngsters within a society which has not gone out of its way to find things for youth to do. There remain uncharted ways of trying volumtary services together with subsidized work experiences. Voluntary civic work can provide opportunities for developing positive work habits, self-discipline, and cooperativeness, particularly if the youngsters are initiated into activities with orientation and training; receive continuous supervision and counseling on problems; earn recognition for commendable work; and sense support from the school, the agency, and the institution.

An articulated, integrated, total program must be developed. Over and over we are told that fewer disadvantaged youngsters would leave school if it provided a "more satisfying and more meaningful experience." The dimensions of such programs are seldom detailed. All too frequently, programs take a patchwork approach to the problem, rather than a total, integrated approach. Scheduling some remedial services, an additional guidance counselor, or a taste of work experience and expecting that such modifications will halt the drop-outs is unrealistic. The end objectives

for such a program must be reasonably clear. The disadvantaged youth must obtain an education which will insure development of whatever potential he has; will heighten his sense of accomplishment and positive self-image; prepare him for taking his place in society as a parent, citizen, and worker.

For most youngsters, the secondary school still represents terminal education. However, it is not exaggeration to anticipate that for many, a successful school curriculum would open the channel into the stream of continuing life-long education, an essential in today's world. Basic literacy is too lowly a goal for our programs for the disadvantaged. Certainly, the inner city child needs special help in acquiring minimal basic skills. But, he needs experiences in many other areas; understanding of his own and other cultures and the relationships among them; establishment of sound citizenship and personal health habits; insights into the place of adolescents in society; understanding of ethical concepts of American society and the meaning of mobility; appreciation and understanding of the social contributions and potential worth to American society of varied ethnic and racial groups, immigrant and in-migrant alike; insights into the world of work and requirements for finding and retaining a job; understanding of developments which may make continuing education both in and out of the formal school a requirement of employment in many industries, and orientation to the leisure resources of the urban community. The curriculum then, must help the student develop not only basic learning skills and whatever special talents he may have, but also essential personal qualities, including responsibility and self-discipline. It should include exploration and preparation for further training, educational and vocational opportunities with special attention to the requirements for adjusting to a changing occupational structure. Thus, the essential elements of an appropriate general education, remediation in the basic areas as required, exploratory

work experience, leisure time use, and home and family living all must be included in a secondary school curriculum design.

Dale has proposed what he calls a Life Management Curriculum to help students "in the critical choices, the big consequential decisions they will make during high school and after." The key ingredients in his curriculum would include an over-arching concern for the values comprising the good life; attention to effective communication in all its dimensions (reading, observing, listening, speaking, assessing, developing taste and discrimination in literature, music, and the fine arts); concern with improved mental, emotional, and physical health, including sensitivity to unrelenting pressures from advertising and sales sources; frequent experiences with success in learning as the basis for motivation to learn ("success is the best motivator"); development of a respect for time and its management; help with problems of the consumer in a modern society and development of effective and responsible work habits, including responsive human relationships and flexibility in a changing technological society.

Dale bases his proposals on the idea that the program must fit the student to living effectively in a complex, changing society. His suggestions

> call attention to the fact that the critical choices of individuals are not chiefly mathematical, linguistic, scientific, or historical. Rather, they are choices of values, of the use of time, energy and money, choices of friends or of a mate, choices in receiving and expressing ideas. They are choices on which one must focus the wisdom in school and out.[23]

These are suggestions one might take seriously in considering the role and purpose of schools in an urbanized and technological society.

In conclusion, The argument of this paper is for an educational program which will insure meaningful growth, provide a sense of attainment and accomplishment, help youngsters understand and face their limitations as well as their strengths, provide for healthy attitudes toward school and society, and generally turn the indifference or antagonism of the disadvan-

taged child into acceptance and understanding. This represents content--
although it is admittedly a broad interpretation of the term. How to
educate the inner city child out of his subculture into society's main-
stream-- while preserving and developing personal elements of individuality
and divergency, as well as the positive elements of his culture-- is the
problem we face. Nor can one have any illusions about the complexity of
the problem viewed in terms of the forces which impinge on the school. The
school alone can hardly solve the problems of segregation, poverty, un-
employment, and isolation (even though it is called upon by some to do so).
But, the school can indeed open unexplored opportunities for the disadvan-
taged child, for these are its province. (Curriculum projects which

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